1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

613
643
173
273

The members of Kamola's lineage were all watching the test, and when they saw the evidence of Kui's powers, they were afraid and agreed immediately that the right of succession should go to Yakanyika's nominee. Yakanyika named Kuluea, her son, to succeed to the title. Informants were in doubt as to whether Kuluea was her son by Kamola's son, and therefore the grandson of Kamola, or by another husband.

The chiefly title passed from the eastern side of the island, from the Ngake lineage of Muliwutu to the western side, to Tua lineage, where it has remained to the present day. The chiefly line of Muliwutu descends from Tafalili, probable son of Kamola.

The seventh chief, Kuluea, by his supernormal powers succeeded in driving away from Pukapuka the giant Tongalelevaus sent by the chiefs of Yayako (p. 381). Wue, the eighth chief, was the great navigator and sea-rover, who sailed all the seas and brought back to Pukapuka many of the games now played by the people of the atoll (p. 402). He was away from Pukapuka during most of his reign as nominal supreme chief of the island, returning only to refit his canoes and sail away again.

It was perhaps during his frequent absences that the woman Wauguna assumed much power and authority and led the people through a period of license, taps-breaking, and debauchery which was finally ended by the great seismic wave. But informants were confused as to whether Wauguna was contemporary with Wue, stating on one day that there was a time break between the two, and on the next that Wauguna rose to authority because of Wue's absence.

613
643
173

Te Kaia, ninth chief, was by birth a member of Matanga lineage of Ngake. Some informants believe he was adopted into Tua lineage of which he became supreme chief, others that he divided several of his surviving children after the wave among the various lineages so that descent groups might be restarted, and that he gave his first-born son, Maina, to his wife's lineage of Tua. In any case, Maina became tenth chief. It is from the first (*pwaa uaua*) of Maina's three wives that the descent group of the supreme chief continues. Maina was succeeded by his son, Tuliayanga, the eleventh chief. Tuliayanga's children were all females. His eldest, Wata, became the sacred maid. His second and fourth daughters had issue, his third daughter had none. From the second daughter descends Te Tio, fifteenth chief. Alatakuga, twelfth chief, was an adopted child of Maina's first wife.

[669]

When Tuliayanga died without male issue, Alatakuga succeeded to the title. He married but had no issue. Apparently a man of vicious temper, he so enraged the people of the island with his senseless killings that when he was finally killed on Motu Ko, all his male relatives were also put to death in an endeavor to extirpate his line altogether. There was, then, no immediate successor in line for the title of supreme chief, and probably no desire on the part of the people to appoint a new chief as long as the unpleasant reign of Alatakuga was fresh in their minds.

Tafeu, a man of Matanga lineage, was appointed regent during an interregnum. He moved his residence from Ngake to Loto without, however, changing his lineage affiliation. He is thought by some informants to have been a son-in-law of the chief Tuli-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

WARFARE

There is no record in Pukapuka of pitched battles between opposing groups, or of warfare existing within the social structure of a definite institution. The atoll was too small, the total population too few, and the amount of available land too little for institutional warfare to have developed. Informants definitely asserted that warfare was unknown on Pukapuka. They were correct in one sense, but the existence of weapons and stories about fighting shows that the island was not always at peace. Fighting incidents in stories of the fighting at Waletoa (p. 389), the fighting against Yangalipule *po* (1), the fighting of Tuivs against the men of Yato (p. 395), the fighting against Uyo (1), and the fighting of Te Nana in Yayake (p. 403) reveal that such fighting was caused by violation of the tapu of the reserves, quarrels over food divisions, personal rivalries, quarrels over division of the reserves, and like matters. The fighting that occurred rarely rose above the level of brawling, but where a pitched hand-to-hand contest resulted, much blood seems to have been shed for little cause. The number of deaths in these contests seems to have been increased by the fact that losers habitually committed suicide by having relatives bury them alive.

The following customs relate to fighting:

At a meeting for the discussion of highly controversial matters, a net of *uvilo* bark was hung on the beach nearby as a warning to all to keep the peace. Anyone wishing for violence had to declare his intentions by tearing down the net, which not only provoked secular violence from opponents but also punishment from the gods for violating the tapu of the net.

A man prepared for fighting by tying up his long hair and girding on his two malos, the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus. The double-wound coils of sennit round waist and abdomen served as protective armor for the vital organs against spear thrusts. There is no record of body painting or decoration.

Weapons were kept in the sleep house on the platform, laid across the tiebeams, or in the armory house (*usale lakau*). Each of the principal paternal lineages possessed its armory, a house of the *usale wakayamua* type. Some such houses were built on the boundary of the principal cemetery of the lineage; others were close to the principal god house of the lineage. In this house the men of the lineage and the sub-lineages stored their heavy spears and clubs, keeping at home only smaller weapons like fish-bone knives. The armories were not tapu; anyone might visit them at any time, and they were kept in good order by the attendants of the god house. The weapons were stored on these houses on platforms, leaving the ground space clear for use by overflow mourners from the mourning houses when many people of the lineage stayed at the cemetery during a period of mourning. In case of alarm, a man girded on his malo at home, picked up his smaller weapons, and ran to the armory of his lineage to select suitable spears and clubs. He might, in dire need, steal a weapon from an armory not belonging to his own lineage, provided he could gain access to it.

Immediately following a war alarm or the sighting of foreign vessels offshore, the priests of the lineage went to the religious structure (*awaapa pa*) of the lineage, tied coconut leaves to the stone of the god, and prayed for success in the coming meeting. Where the men of Wale supported the high chief of the island against a group bent on antisocial ends, the chief went to the sacred enclosure to pray to the goddess Tasa, who,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

Tau, asking him what was his favor. Te Tau was thunderstruck (*to te palo*) when he heard the news. He replied that nothing was to be done and the girls freed from custody. Two sons of the chief, however, had previously strayed to the reserve and been killed by the guard. Tuliayanga heard that Te Tau had saved his two daughters after his own two sons had been killed. He rushed to the house of Te Tau and said, "You killed my two boys, now you wish to save your two girls", implying only too plainly that Te Tau, who was instrumental in passing the law, had no right to defy it. Tuliayanga turned to the guard and called out, "Yelu!" (Comb!), meaning that the hair of the girls was to be combed forward so as to expose their necks. This done, the strangling cord was passed over their necks and the girls were strangled to death before their father. Their bodies were buried in the cemetery, not thrown into the sea as were the bodies of other thieves.

Two men, Tuiva and Kupolu, were successful in defying the blockades of the guard:

Tuiva, a warrior, strong and unafraid, was married to a daughter or granddaughter of Tuliayanga. He would go to the reserve at night, climb a tree, and get nuts. When the guard heard the noise and came to investigate, Tuiva threw down immature nuts so that they landed some distance away from the tree. The guard's attention would be diverted by this noise and, while they were combing the ground, Tuiva came down from his tree and escaped from the reserve. This ruse succeeded several times. Though no one actually saw him in the reserve, the guard decided that only one man was strong and daring enough to go to the reserve so openly, and this was Tuiva.

On a later occasion, when Tuiva was in the reserve, the guard refused to budge from the tree where Tuiva was hiding, even though they heard noises elsewhere. Each guard was armed with a stick. Tuiva resorted to another ruse: he pulled off two coconut midribs and carried them halfway down the trunk of the tree, where he hurled them to the ground with such force that the guard thought it was a body that had fallen. The guard rushed to the midribs and hurled their sticks at it. By the time they discovered that Tuiva was not buried under the leaves, he had again escaped. He was recognized, however, and the guard hurried after him. Tuiva reached home and told his wife about the mishap, saying he would sell his life dearly if the guard tried to arrest him.

The guard went to Tuliayanga and reported that his son-in-law had been stealing. Tuliayanga's daughter also appeared to plead for the life of her husband, saying she would substitute for him if the guard decided to strangle him. Tuliayanga was touched by the appeal of his favorite daughter and was also somewhat afraid of the powers and strength of Tuiva, knowing that if the guard went to get him, much blood would be shed on the island. Tuliayanga therefore ordered the guard to allow Tuiva to go free.

At about the same time another daring warrior, Kupolu, would go to the reserve and walk out before the eyes of the guard carrying bunches of nuts in his arms. If any of the guard tried to intercept him, Kupolu put down his nuts and openly engaged the guard in a struggle, almost always succeeding in throwing many of them into the taro swamps before the others scattered. This he did so often that the people said, "Why kill the weak people for trying to get food when the strong warriors like Tuiva and Kupolu can get food from the reserves and none can stop them?" This seemed reasonable to so many people, Tuliayanga included, that the chief abrogated the law of *pule pae*.

Civil War

Though the law of *pule pae* was abrogated, the reserves were still common property and the people were living in Loto. Some were of the opinion that it was time to go back to the old three villages with village control of the reserves. To decide this question, Tuliayanga called a meeting of

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

the sub-chiefs and men of the island at the place Matano in old Yato village. From the accounts it seems that many were in favor of no change, and the matter might have been so decided but for the action of a group of Ngake men, strongly opposed to continuing the emergency system. What happened at the meeting is vividly told in the following translation of an account recorded by Talainga.

The Fight in Waletoa

There was a meeting of the chief and the big influential men, and all the men of this island, all together. This was their discussion: they were going to continue the island as one, make it into one village. In the time of Tuliayanga this discussion was held.

The men all went to talk in Matano. They agreed to the talk. There were eight men of Ngake who did not want to go to the meeting: there were two chiefs, Wekao of Matanga and Tawaia of Muliwutu, and in addition Titoko, Yeutaka, Aveave, Kaveu, Takatakai, Taonge. They did not agree that the island should be made into one. They wanted to live in the villages in which we now live.

The men waited for that group to come. The hanging of the net of Te Laupapa at the shore of Waletoa was finished by the many men. It was a net to make peaceful the spirits of men, so that ideas in disagreement with the decision would not arise. All the men waited for the group of eight who were missing to come. The men spoke of the reason that group did not come. The many men watched from Matano. There was something becoming visible on Waletoa. The many men said that there indeed they were leaping to the shore of Waletoa. The group of eight looked, the net of Te Laupapa, the god of Muliwutu, was stretched there. Titoko, a Muliwutu man, ran forth. He tore the net. The men at Matano saw the peace net of Te Laupapa" torn by the group.

One group of men said, "Don't do anything, leave it like that, so that the angers may only rage, lest people go over to their side." They looked at an old man who was coming down from Waula, going to the meeting. Moene was the name of the man; he was a chief of Matanga. When he looked at Waletoa, at the net of Te Laupapa torn by the group of eight, Moene became angry and insulted the group. This was his insult: "Having eaten menstrual pads, they spoil the island; they have torn the peace net of Te Laupapa." Moving over to the side, he picked up a sinker stone, threw it at the group.

When the many men gathered at Matano saw, one group of men objected: "Wai! who is the bold fellow? That is the god-piercer, the trouble-maker." They saw Titoko who was jumping over. Titoko hit him in the back of the head. Moene fell down. He died.

When the men saw that Moene had fallen down, they rushed off with the calling of the mouths, "The trouble-maker." The stone (island) was definitely boiling with civil war.

The many men fetched weapons, ran back. The group of eight were feinting on the meeting place of Waletoa. They threw at each other with the weapons. Indeed the many men were quite distracted. Of the eight, no man of theirs was to die. Frightened was one group of the many men, out of breath another. Another group climbed on top of the houses to hide. As to the eight, none of their men had to fear. They had all been

---

"The "net" of Te Laupapa was no real net but consisted of a length of sennit from which hung strips of *wolo* bark. Whenever a meeting of people from the whole island was held, or when a meeting of people of a lineage was held, this net was always taken from the god house of one of the lineages and hung up close to the beach. It was a reminder to the people that the meeting was to be peaceful and that violence would be punished by the god under whose protection the net was placed. The tearing down of the net was a sign that conflict was so acute that it could be settled only by violence. The man who tore down the net had not only to take his part in the fighting but also had to face punishment by the god, as happened to Titoko in the fight at Waletoa.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

173 injured, but their god had made well the places where they were injured, hit by the
539 many men.
669 Tawaia, one of the eight, ran below the house. Lunananga heard from on top of the house, it was Tawaia's voice. Lunanga (*sic*) jumped from on top of the house, split Tawaia's head with his billet club, the head was cracked. Tawaia was a brother of Lunanga. This is the reason Lunanga hit Tawaia: Tawaia and the others had not told their plan to him and the other group of Ngake.

Te Laupapa, the god of Tawaia and the others, turned there, folded together the split head of Tawaia, it was all right again. Tawaia ran on chasing the men, when the splitting of Tawaia's head was over. The many men threw at each other, among themselves only. They did not turn to the group of eight, to strike with aim. Indeed, the blood was flowing red on top. Indeed, the group which had died was nearly lost in the blood from the people. Indeed also, the many men had become few in number, they were nearly all finished, there remained only a few. But of the group of eight, not one of their men was mortally injured.

When the fighting was over, they lived other days thereafter. The armpit of Titoko became festered, from his tearing of the net of their god, Te Laupapa. The other seven were not affected. Deaths were theirs in fights in later times.

The doings of this island, the ideas which mistakenly direct the takings (decisions) of the island, which are not correct, these bring misfortune. Thus the many men were finished off. But the group of eight had been right, had wanted to live according to the customs of the island from the origin of the island, the living in villages. Thus they had good luck; there was not mortally injured a single man of theirs. Finished is the story of the fight at Waletoa.

173 Other accounts of this incident say that the beach and sea ran red with
669 the blood of the killed and injured. Old insults and injuries, long forgotten
621 but now flaring up anew, added to the violence of the hostilities. Although
166 the women hauled the injured men from the fighting ground, by the end of the day Waletoa was a place of shambles.

As a result of the fighting, Tuliayanga yielded to the pleas of his advisers and decreed that thenceforth all the people were to live in their old villages and that the reserves were again to be under village control. No doubt by this time the food supplies were again normal, and it must have irked some men to remain separated from their own village homes and to see the reserves, controlled by the villages from time immemorial, thrown open to all comers. It was a common consciousness that the time for repressive or stringent measures, necessary in the famine succeeding the great death, was now past, that was crystalized by the exploits of Tuiva and Kupolu and by the dramatic conflict at Waletoa leading to the restitution of normal living and economic conditions.

173 Tuliayanga was now an old man, but one more incident is reported from his reign. This was the arrival of four big double canoes from the land of Yiva:

When the canoes were sighted off the point Te Auma, the chief and the people went to investigate. Tuliayanga had no heart to fight so he tore off a cluster of *ngayu* leaves and threw them in the air. As the leaves fell, he struck at them with his walking staff and so great was his power that not one leaf fell without being struck aside and dispersed. Then the chief said: "Let the canoes pass away as these leaves are dispersed.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

Meantime Malotini was seen coming back from his fishing. He suspected no trouble and was unarmed. He was caught by the old men and hustled off to his cemetery. A grave was dug for him and he was stood near it. The old men refused him permission either to don his death malo and pearl-shell ornaments, even though his father was hurrying toward the place with them in his hands, or to embrace his parents and his cousin-in-avoidance, all of which might have made death easier. They roughly pushed him into his grave and buried him alive. His family composed a lament over the death of the young man. It is a good example of the use of clipped metaphor and allusive reference so characteristic of all Pukapukan chants. The parents and brothers of Malotini address both Malotini and the killers in the various phrases that make up the *alou* dirge:

Moe ma te toto o,
Tatou tatangi ki motu o,
Ka mauli kape i muta o, kape ma na vae.

Tino yaulefa, ye vava, yaale wua mai tai nei—

Tiaki te kakai matua, no laton na vaia,
E teagia latou i to kotou tangata,
Wuli wua mai ki a koe te peiiki o te takanga
o te wui mulivaka,
Kua ngalo koe, e ule kaina i to pou tu,

To yiku tala wuwali ko te matamatangi—

Ma wakaekateka in lalo
Wakatupoupou atu koe ki Mulivae.
E tokoa wuvale, e toku taina,
Aku wakanluia mai koe ko to wale atua.

Na patua ko loto o Talikai.

Kamaiai koe pe Waiei,
Ko ye tua na waitanga o tangata o te atu
Yamoa.
Koa yau lua to tala na i te tala o Tiki na
patua.
Ko te waka o Te Palo ya tele.
Tenei au e tangoungou wakamauava
Wakamalbanga i to kainga ma te kau na to a
kotou ma te ulu leka kovea.
E ehu taina, ko vave ake au pe Uyo,
Ke alva tuki atu i na ngutu lalalala e
Maleka aka, nonewu.
Koa toka ngo to winangalo e kai tangata?

Sleep, bleeding,
We cry out to the island,
The soul buried to the eyes, buried also the
feet.
Gentle body, never fussing, who simply walked
along the beach here—
The old people waited, it was their time,
You old men cry for your man,
They turn to you the youngest of the friends
of all the mature men,
You are lost, you whose penis I want to eat,
you of the main post in the god house,
Your barbed tail (?), turn to the direction of
the winds—
You journeyed south
They forced you over to Mulivae cemetery.
Oh, my vaginal secretions, oh, my brother,
My thoughts are filled with you in your god
house.
They killed you in the middle of the place
Talikai.
You smelled like Waiei.[39]
They don't punish the wrongdoers (?) of the
people of the Samoas.
Your story comes in (follows) the story of
Tiki who was killed.
The canoe of Te Palo sailed swiftly.[40]
Here I am wailing, sighing,
Make known the message and the group which
killed you and your happy group.
O my brother, if only I were strong as Uyo,[41]
So that I might beat those insulting mouths
So hard that they become unconscious.
Your desire (O old men), to kill people has
subsided, has it not?[42]

It seems that the killing of the young men of Yato was not an isolated event but that several of these apparently senseless killings occurred at different times—so that the people of Wale began to fear that soon all the young men would be killed off. One time when Alatakupu and a few of his friends went to Motu Ko for a few days' fishing, the people of Wale got together and decided to end Alatakupu's reign. They prayed for the assistance of Tana and then hurried over to Ko before their resolution should fail. They landed on the islet and butchered all the old men they could find. They came across two warriors of Manihiki blood, bodyguards of Alatakupu, named Tualangi and Pailon. These two men prayed to their Manihiki gods to protect them when they saw the war party coming. But they were captured. A piece of sennit was twisted about their necks and pulled tight to strangle them. Twice the sennit broke; but the third time the protection of the Manihiki gods deserted them. At this moment Alatakupu rushed on the scene. His eyesockets were always big, but now in his rage at finding his people in revolt against his rule his eyes were enormous and bloodshot; they blazed with anger like two burning embers in his face. Shouting the name of Tana to help him, Alatakupu rushed to strike down the men of Wale. They drew back in fear, but

[39] A character in a popular story.
[40] A reference to the swift journeys of Te Palo between Nassau and Pukapuka. Secondary symbolism obscure.
[41] A man of gigantic stature and strength.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

173 Alatakupu's adopted son called out: "Why are you afraid, O men of Wale? This man
579 has killed many of your sons and friends. Spare him and he will kill many more, includ-
643 ing you here for being rebels." Then he ran back up to Alatakupu and struck him in
669 the face with a club. His son seized the half-stunned chief by the neck and throat. Friends from Wale renewed their courage. They placed a cord round the chief's neck and forthwith strangled him to death. People were so angry with his body, even dead, that they refused to allow it to be taken back to Wale for burial in the chief's cemetery. The body was left on Motu Ko and buried, along with the bodies of some of the old men, in a lone grave in the middle of the village of Te A.

When all had returned to Wale, the people in meeting decided to wipe out the stock of Alatakupu, root and branch. All his direct male relatives, without exception, including even suckling babes, were hunted out and strangled; their bodies thrown away.

There was thus left no male issue to succeed to the title. It was decided to wait until later years when a distant female relative of the main line might give birth to a male child before making another appointment to the position of chief. In the interregnum Tuiva was asked to act as regent for the island. Tuiva became the controlling head of the island until it was opportune to appoint, as the new chief, the boy Ikilua.

579 The two stories of Alatakupu illustrate very well a feature shared with
152 other accounts of Pukapukan fighting: the apparent blood lust that gripped a Pukapukan crowd when it set out to kill. Little mercy was shown or expected; no courtesies were granted a dying person. Old animosities were revived and everyone not a friend became an enemy to be put out of the way without consideration. There appears to have been a boiling-over of repressed hatred, a collective running amok, which is hard to harmonize with the more usual gentle Pukapukan nature. It is likely that the killings resulted in a sort of emotional catharsis which, when finished, prepared the atoll group for a further period of peaceful and friendly village relations.

Manihiki Immigrants

167 The two Manihiki warriors mentioned in the story of the killing of
173 Alatakupu came to Pukapuka in a drift canoe from Manuyiki (Manihiki). The canoe was named Tialalunga, and in it were Tualangi and Pailoa and five women including Tata, wife of Tualangi, an elderly woman; Tokoua; Telua; and two other women who were drowned. This canoe is often referred to as Te Vaka-o-Tata (The Canoe-of-Tata).

These people set out from Lakawanga (Rakahanga) to sail to Manuyiki (Manihiki). Halfway across, a strong gale blew up; the canoe drifted and the course was lost. But for the protection of a large sail fish which swam along the windward side of the canoe, sheltering it from the worst of the seas, the canoe would have been swamped. This sail fish had been sent by the Manihiki gods after their adherents had prayed to them for protection. After many days at sea, during which the drifters kept themselves alive by eating raw fish (there was a big tuna fish in the canoe when it landed at Pukapuka), the canoe drifted to Pukapuka, coming up from the south and striking the reef outside Motu Kotawa. The people were too weak to make a good landing on this difficult reef, and coming over the reef the two women were washed